

*The Army Learns to Luau:
Imperial Hospitality and Military
Photography in Hawai'i*

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Offering lei greetings, feasts “fit for a king,” and “Polynesian” entertainment, the luau has become a central feature of a tourist experience in Hawai'i. In hotel lobbies, kiosks advertise dozens of commercial luaus claiming to be “Hawaii's Best.” At the popular Paradise Cove luau on the Wai'anae coast of O'ahu, tourists can partake of a Hawaiian buffet and hula show for \$73, or, for \$25 more, upgrade to the Royal Ali'i Luau with preferred seating and service.¹ More than half of all US tourists attended a luau in 2005, according to the State of Hawai'i's Visitor Satisfaction and Activity Report (DBEDT 2006).

The 2007 season finale of the Bravo reality television series *Top Chef* illustrated the symbolic and economic value of the luau to Hawai'i tourism. Four finalists in the cooking competition were flown by helicopter from Kona, on the west coast of the island of Hawai'i, to secluded Waipi'o Valley on the northern shore, where celebrity chef Alan Wong hosted a luau with traditional Hawaiian foods. After conch shell greetings and a Hawaiian pule (prayer) by the Lim Family, a notable hula and musical group, the contestants feasted on poi, lomi-lomi salmon, poke, and lau-lau,² in a seemingly uninhabited valley. Later that evening, the contestants executed their assignment: preparing nouveau luau dishes for Wong's birthday celebration.

While the luau theme may appear to be simply the result of the producers' desire for a dramatic destination for the series finale, the setting in Hawai'i was actually the result of a carefully orchestrated campaign by the Hawai'i Visitors and Convention Bureau and its public relations firm, McNeil Wilson Communications. For several months, McNeil Wilson

courted Bravo producers and arranged secret scouting trips to Hawai'i for local tastings and meetings with culinary notables. The tourist bureau ultimately contributed \$60,000 to the show, and the Hawai'i State Department of Agriculture and Hilton Hotels also provided in-kind assistance in hopes of wooing two million "outgoing" and upscale *Top Chef* viewers to the Islands (Adams 2007). The tourist bureau aimed to translate scenes of Hawaiian hospitality into tourist dollars and further market the luau as part of the Islands' authentic cultural heritage.

The Americanized idiom "luau" already mandates its own misrecognition by outsiders, for in its Hawaiian usage, "lū'au" is not a feast. The word "lū'au" in fact refers to the young leaves of the taro plant that are cooked with meat. Haole (white) visitors to Hawai'i in the early nineteenth century confused this dish with the parties at which it was served. In 'ōlelo Hawai'i (Hawaiian language), the celebratory event commonly known today as a "luau" is called either 'aha'āina (literally, an "eating gathering") or pā'ina, a party for one's family and community.³ On a typical weekend in the Islands, one finds many "backyard" lū'au or 'aha'āina thrown by Island communities to celebrate events such as a baby's first birthday, a wedding, or other rites of passage.

However, my focus here is not the localized practices of feasting and festivity but their touristic other: the popular commodity that circulates in the global cultural marketplace and signals Native hospitality toward outsiders. These luaus manage to harken back to the "tropics" even as they travel far beyond them, signifying insouciant escape. College fraternities across the US continent regularly host annual luaus that require guests to "play Hawaiian" by wearing grass skirts, while the Evite.com invitation Web site offers several do-it-yourself luau-themed party templates with tiki-torch and hula-girl motifs.

But how and when did the tourist luau become an iconic and mediated form of commodified hospitality and leisure? In this article I trace the emergence of the luau as a material practice and discursive formation in Hawai'i and beyond during World War II. While the luau materialized in the tourist culture of nineteenth-century Hawai'i, it obtained its most significant traction within the "mili-touristic" economy of World War II Hawai'i. I rely on Teresia K Teaiwa's insightful formulation of "mili-tourism," a "profound symbiosis between militarism and tourism" in the Pacific (2001, 5), to discuss the luau and its legacies.

Hawai'i, of all Pacific Island locations, is the most evident apotheosis of this military-tourist matrix, fueled by the twin dragons of military and

tourist spending. Tourism is the state's largest industry, followed by US Department of Defense spending.⁴ Hawai'i also provides a model under whose long shadow other US-supported mili-tourist economies like Guam and Puerto Rico have developed.⁵ Militarism and tourism have developed in close concert in Hawai'i and are mutually dependent, capitalizing on a neocolonial state, expropriated land base, and subordinated local populace. Mili-tourism also produces and benefits from institutionalized entertainment.

The luau has been a crucial component of the "hospitality industry" and helped to make Hawai'i the US military's valued "R & R" (rest and relaxation) capital. Commissioned for military use during the Pacific war, the luau also served as a vital instrument of state hospitality during the Korean and Vietnam wars and remains a gendered form of succor for military bodies. Called "natural-born musicians," Hawaiians and their labor were considered critical to US military success during World War II (Allen 1950, 218). The conception of Hawaiians as "natural" performers and their subsequent recruitment for the militarized state have made Hawai'i a specific kind of militarized site and distinguish it from other past and current US war zones such as the Philippines, Guam, Vietnam, Afghanistan, or Iraq. While the latter places may provide gendered forms of labor (for instance, for sex workers or cultural translators), they are not, like Hawai'i, imagined as sanctuaries that produce indigenous entertainment for US troops.

To analyze this taken-for-granted, commodified element of Hawaiian life, I build on the work of feminist scholars of the Pacific who have made gender and sexuality key loci for their critiques of colonial and neocolonial relations. Teaiwa has made the compelling argument that the iconography of the bikini, named after a US nuclear test site, reveals an eroticized female body that depoliticizes the violence of US colonialism and nuclear testing in Micronesia (1994). Responding to Teaiwa through wide-ranging reading of representations of Polynesian female bodies, Margaret Jolly proposed that sexual possession—imagined or otherwise—of Polynesian female bodies may be connected to military and colonial possession of the region (1997, 100).⁶ Turning to Hawai'i, I ask, what has been concealed by the positioning of Native bodies?

I suggest that the idealized social relations portrayed in the scripted luau serve to project an illusory peace over a continuing military occupation. Today Hawai'i is the critical center of the US Pacific Command, the largest unified military command in the nation. This command handles

military operations for more than half of the earth's surface and 60 percent of the world's population. Yet, along with its strategic location in the Pacific Basin, what has made Hawai'i most valuable to US military hegemony in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries is what I call "imperial hospitality," enacted and imagined scripts in which Islanders and soldiers play host and guest respectively. Offering their aloha (love and affection) to US soldiers, hula dancers serve as state hostesses, while Island men are relegated to the background of these performances. These scenes of generous hospitality transform colonial possession into benign and mutually agreeable encounters.

This article also explores the luau as a highly mediated form of imperial hospitality, and I take up the luau as an event during its production by US military cameras. Since at least the late nineteenth century, luaus have been captured in photographs and circulated through postcards, newspapers, travel guides, and other books, such as Jose de Olivares's illustrated volumes on the United States' newly acquired colonies, *Our Islands and Their People* (1899, 466). But it was during World War II that the luau was transformed from a privileged affair for a select few tourists or soldiers to one that could be shared with a mass audience beyond the Islands. Thus, when *Top Chef* or a Web site advertises a luau and makes the Islands visually available to many, it recalls the moment when the luau and its fantasy of goodwill and cultural sharing was democratized, if you will, by militarized media. The alchemy of "rest and relaxation" that tourists experience today through global media is an extension of this imperial hospitality.

HULA IN THE PACIFIC THEATER

The consolidation of US military power and the colonization of Hawai'i are intimately connected. The United States gained control of Pearl Harbor as a naval base in 1887 after haole businessmen forced through a new constitution that severely limited the power of the reigning sovereign, Kalākaua, and his Hawaiian cabinet. The ascendancy of the haole minority in the Islands paved the way for US colonization less than a decade later. The landing of US marines in Honolulu in January 1893 pressured the queen of Hawai'i, Lili'uokalani, to temporarily relinquish her crown to haole annexationists, hastening the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Only four days after illegal US annexation of Hawai'i in 1898, 1,300 US troops arrived to establish the Islands' first permanent garrison (POP 1950).

The annexation further opened the doors for the military expropriation of Hawaiian land, beginning with 1.8 million acres of government and Crown lands (also known as “ceded lands”), comprising over 40 percent of the islands’ total acreage.⁷ After the United States incorporated Hawai‘i as the fiftieth state in 1959, the State of Hawai‘i assumed control over the majority of these lands as trustee. However, the military held onto 10 percent of these lands and leased even more back from the state for token sums. At present, according to its own reports, the military controls at least 5 percent of the total land in Hawai‘i, with its heaviest concentration of military reservations and bases on O‘ahu, the most populous island (DOD 2006).

As a military colony, Hawai‘i served as headquarters for the entire Central Pacific Command of the US Armed Services during World War II. Refiguring the martial meaning of the “Pacific Theater,” Hawai‘i became the staging ground not only for battle, but also for the leisure of millions of soldiers, defense workers, and military administrators who came to the Islands. The military took over tourist operations, coordinating with the United Service Organization (USO) to provide entertainment for soldiers



FIGURE 1. Traveling hula dancers sponsored by the Honolulu City Civic Recreation Commission, 24 March 1942. Photo 309, Hawai‘i War Records Depository. Reprinted with permission of the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*.

and defense workers.⁸ Nearly seven million attended USO shows in 1942, the first year of USO operations (HUSO 1945, 6).

Drawing on a half-century of experience entertaining tourists, Hawaiians formed hundreds of volunteer hula groups. Hula shows for military audiences became commonplace on land and at sea; dancers who once performed on tourist ocean liners now danced on military vessels in the harbors. As many soldiers were posted far from urban areas and major military bases, dancers and musicians took their shows to remote and sometimes secret areas (figure 1). Six to seven days a week, they traveled in military jeeps, trucks, ships, planes—even on pack mules—to reach isolated servicemen (HUSO 1943, 18; Brown 1942, 24).

Seemingly everywhere hula dancers performed, US military photographers captured them on film. The visual record of wartime Hawai'i is distinguished by its recurrent coverage of Native Hawaiian women and cultural practices, as evidenced most significantly by the dozens of military films and photographs held by the US National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) and the Hawai'i War Records Depository (HWRD), respectively. Military photographers in US Navy and Army units filmed sumptuous recreations of Hawaiian luaus or, on a smaller scale, took informal footage of Hawaiians dancing hula at military hospitals, airfields, and recreation camps. At the US National Archives, I found and viewed approximately fifty such films dating from the 1930s to the 1960s.⁹ While the films are concentrated during World War II, this archive also spans the French-Indochina conflict, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War.

Although scholars have produced excellent work on tourist and commercial photography of Hawai'i and the Pacific Islands (eg, Davis 2001; Feeser and Chan 2006; Quanchi 2006), the US military's extensive visual record of Hawai'i remains largely unexamined. Military photography of Hawaiian cultural practices, however, straddles the ethnographic and the commercial, building on narratives of intimacy and hospitality that circulated through other cultural forms such as popular ethnographies, travel guides, music, and live hula shows.

Combat cameramen in the Army Air Forces, the Army's Signal Photographic Companies, and the Navy's Combat Photography Units documented luaus and hula extensively during the war, on film and in still photographs. Here I examine this genre of wartime Island entertainment, including a short film titled *Luau: A Native Feast* (NARA 1944). Produced by an Army Air Force combat photography unit in Hawai'i in 1944, *Luau* stages an elaborate hula pageant and feast for military officers and their

families. I have chosen to focus on this film out of the estimated fifty held by the National Archives' Motion Pictures Division, as it is typical of the military's sustained interest in hula but exceptional in its production values.

As part of a larger archive, *Luanu* underscores the US military's investments as image-producer of the Islands. The film's material practices are intertwined with its discursive practices: the military recruited Hawaiians as laborer-entertainers in these productions, while the films themselves—developed and distributed by the military during its occupation—were ideal instructional scripts to regulate the behavior of Islanders and soldiers. The film cast the luau as Island hospitality, a symbolic domain that continues to overdetermine Hawai'i as a model R & R destination for US soldiers and civilian tourists in the present.

LUAU ON FILM

On 7 December 1941, when Pearl Harbor was bombed, 43,000 soldiers were stationed on O'ahu, but by mid-1945, there were more than 250,000. This latter figure does not include the more than 100,000 sailors and marines, or the Allied servicemen and civilian defense workers who were posted in and passing through the Islands (Allen 1950, 219). War-related outsiders easily outnumbered the local population of approximately 250,000 in a matter of months. As Beth Bailey and David Farber described (1994), Hawai'i was "the first strange place" for newly arrived soldiers, who encountered a majority population of nonwhite Islanders during World War II. Gender and color lines did not square with those on the US continent. White skin privilege was not a given in the Islands; Pacific Islanders and local Asians, even Japanese Americans, enjoyed some authority in civic life.

Almost as soon as US servicemen began arriving on shore, their expectations of a Hawaiian paradise faded. Men took to calling O'ahu "the Rock" and "a camouflaged Alcatraz" (*HSB*, 11 December 1942). Contradicting the lyrics of the popular World War II song, "Hawaiian Hospitality," there were not enough "fair wahine" to make every soldier's "dreams of love come true." Servicemen and war workers complained bitterly about the lack of attractive Island women, and some further hinted that there were not enough white women to go around (Grier 1946, 101).¹⁰

Many Islanders also grew to loathe the transformation of their home into a militarized zone. The Army and Navy doubled their landholdings

during the war to over 62,000 acres on all islands, and prime beaches were either crowded with outsiders or made off-limits to civilians (Allen 1950, 246). One such still-contested site is Mākua Valley on O‘ahu, which shelters endangered species and culturally significant sites for Hawaiians (Kelly and Aleck 1997). The Army forcibly evicted valley residents, mostly Native Hawaiians, to make way for live-fire training in 1943 (Pennybacker 2006).¹¹ For over fifty years the Army air-bombed and fired ammunition in the valley, sparking wildfires and littering unexploded ordnance.

But what affected civilians most directly was martial law. Immediately after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, under pressure from the highest-ranking Army commander in the Islands, the territorial governor declared martial law.¹² The US Army took over all civilian courts and suspended the writ of habeas corpus. Civilians were tried in provost courts similar to courts-martial, except the accused did not even have the rights and legal representation of a court-martial. They faced steep fines and imprisonments in these courts (Anthony 1975, 9–10). Islanders were also subjected to wage freezes, curfews, press censorship, and the interference by the military in matters of remote importance.

White men feared being outnumbered and outperformed by Hawaiian and Asian men, and indiscriminately called them “Kanakas,” “gooks,” or “slant-eyes.” Islanders retaliated by committing petty thefts and assaults against soldiers (Grier 1946, 101). The hostility erupted in a race riot in 1945, when five hundred sailors attacked a local Asian and Hawaiian neighborhood to avenge the rumored murders of two of their men—rumors that were later proven false (Lind 1968, 248). Women of all ages also had reason to fear and detest the military. Soldiers harassed and molested girls as young as ten years old, and in the worst cases, raped women. However, official filmic representations of Hawai‘i occluded these frequent eruptions of racial and sexual strife in the interest of promoting peaceful relations.

Luau: A Native Feast, a silent 16 mm color film, was shot by the 7th Army Air Forces combat camera unit on 6 May 1944. Military footage shot in Hawai‘i was largely left unedited. However, *Luau* was produced much more professionally than other combat films: it was filmed by cameramen with multiple cameras and edited from raw footage. *Luau* may well constitute the first filmic representation of a luau. The twelve-minute film covers a day of feasting and pageantry enjoyed by Army officers and their wives at Hickam Air Force Base on the island of O‘ahu. First, Hawaiian men prepare a pig for the imu (underground oven); women kiss

the officers and give them leis. Women then dance hula and the Hawaiian feast is served, followed by a hula lesson for off-duty officers.

In the tradition of Robert J Flaherty's *Moana: A Romance of the Golden Age*, set in Sāmoa (1926), *Luau* blends documentary and entertainment. Narrated with intertitles such as "A Whole Day is in [sic] Spent Preparing the Feast," the film systematically explicates Hawaiian cultural practices and suggests they are best realized when generously offered to malihini (outsiders). The soldier-cameramen's ethnographic impulses are revealed in the most observational section of the film: the traditional process of roasting a pig. Cultural difference unfolds step by step as Hawaiian men are filmed rubbing the pig with salt, inserting hot rocks into the pig, wrapping it in chicken wire, and lowering into an earthen fire pit. Hawaiian language intertitles like "Hele Mai Oukou e Ai!" (Come and Eat!) also convey insider knowledge.

However, the ethnographic style of the film was overwhelmed by touristic conventions. While the cooking was shot in long takes, the hula performance was not shot in an observational style. Several hula dances were edited to a few seconds without regard to continuity or narrative flow. The cameramen seem to have been more interested in the generic exoticism of the setting—signified by floral leis and women in aloha print dresses—than thick description.

While not a combat film as such, *Luau* was produced by the Army Air Force in a military area.¹³ The National Archives hold no records of the distribution and audiences of this film, but it was likely screened during training either for arriving soldiers or before arrival to boost morale. It may also have been included in propaganda newsreels shown on the US continent or in the Islands. Some photographs taken by the Army Signal Corps circulated through the Central Pacific command to US newspapers as publicity. World War II was the most-photographed war (Maslowski 1993, 6), and photography was useful not only for military intelligence and surveillance, but also for persuading ordinary citizens to support the war effort.¹⁴ As a *National Geographic* article proclaimed in 1944, "Cameras and film have become as essential in this war as guns and bullets, on some occasions more so" (Colton 1944, 257).

During World War II, Hollywood professionals helped to train camera operators in the Army Signal Corps, and one-sixth of the 240,000 workers in the production of motion pictures were in the armed services (Zimmerman 1995, 91). During the war, US military combat camera units like those in Hawai'i and on the front lines shot 16 mm film, which was con-

sidered amateur technology compared to 35 mm film. However, 16 mm film was retooled for military purposes, and its low-budget quality was re-signified as authenticity and realism (Zimmerman 1995, 90–91). Thus, rather than ethnographic pieces like *Luau*, the visual record of the Army and Naval photographic units overseas included more battle scenes like modernist photographer Edward Steichen's *Power in the Pacific* (1945) and *US Navy War Photographs: Pearl Harbor to Tokyo Bay* (1956)—collections that brought home to Americans the experiences of the Battle of Midway and the takeover of Tarawa. As the war progressed, photography also turned toward a realistic depiction of the violence and casualties on the front lines. But in Hawai'i, military cameras directed their lenses away from casualties of war and insistently focused on Native Hawaiians and their cultural performances.

PHOTOGRAPHY AND THE REGULATION OF PEACE

Michel Foucault argued that populations are disciplined by being forced into “compulsory visibility” (1995, 187). Drawing on Foucault's genealogy of the new power that disciplined its subjects through surveillance and “infinite examination” in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, John Tagg argued that the photograph contributed to this disciplinary technology. Photography, he asserted, is complicit with institutions like the asylum, hospital, and police force, which exert power and control over individual bodies (Tagg 1988, 77). Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon, a metaphor for the visual technology of control, found its ideal realization within the frame of the photograph. While panoptic architecture was a disciplinary instrument in European factories, prisons, and schools, the camera became a “seeing machine” of empire (Foucault 1995, 207)—a technology that disciplined racialized bodies in colonial sites. Christopher Pinney further concluded, “The surveillance of the gaze was one of the chief instruments of domination, whether of the criminal, the insane, or the subject peoples of the Empire” (1990, 260).

Pinney, following Foucault, analyzed the British colonial state's use of photography as a positivist tool in nineteenth-century India. The assumed evidentiary quality of photography helped control and categorize Indians; photography produced “indexical” evidence for the state, such as hierarchies of ethnic types and castes. Pinney argued that India was a laboratory for anthropometry (the comparative study of human body measurements); for example, the photographic collection *The People of India*, which was

published by the British beginning in 1868, evaluated castes in terms of potential loyalty to the colonial state (Pinney 1997, 35).

In the developing US empire, the relationship between visibility, racialization, and domination is arguably most realized with American Indian subjects. The Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of American Ethnology produced more than 20,000 negatives of American Indians beginning in 1879, as removal policies and white settlement pushed Indians farther from their homes. After the massacre at Wounded Knee in 1890, which marked the official end of the Indian Wars, bureau photographers continued to document the lifeways of "disappearing" Indians (Marien 2002, 130, 144; Truettner 1991).¹⁵ As the United States developed its overseas empire in the late nineteenth century, the photograph was used to discipline its newest colonial subjects, including live Filipinos who were avidly displayed and photographed at the 1904 St Louis World's Fair. Vicente Rafael has called these colonial ethnological photographs "fetishes of the nation and empire," which mummified the living into the dead (2000, 81).

Photography has also played a crucial role in domesticating Hawai'i, a strategically key yet ambivalent colony. While theorists like Pinney have rightly analyzed the camera as a colonial weapon (1990, 1997), I contend that the camera in military-occupied Hawai'i presents a distinct form of imperial regulation: it did not merely discipline or surveil its subjects, but was also deployed by the military as a regulatory instrument of peace. Foucault attentively distinguished between disciplinary and regulatory power: discipline as a technology focused on an individual body, and regulation as a technology of power centered on an entire species or population, what he termed a "biopower" (1990, 139–140).

To be sure, both axes of power were exerted on the population of Hawai'i during the war. The colonial-military state's legal, medical, and educational apparatuses institutionalized individual bodies. Empowered by martial law that disregarded the constitution and the laws of the territory and United States, military authorities scrutinized and managed nearly every aspect of civilian life. The self-appointed "military governor"—the lieutenant general and commanding general of the US Army's Pacific Ocean Areas—issued countless orders controlling wages, restaurants, bowling alleys, water chlorination, the resale of used rubber tires, even the importation of canned sardines and tomato juice (Anthony 1975, 13). Military organizations also rendered civilians highly visible. A special registration bureau performed the mass registration and fingerprinting of all civilians over the age of six, the first such procedure undertaken in the

United States (Allen 1950, 120). This was but one example of the exercise of “micro-power” at the level of the body—what Foucault called “infinitesimal surveillances” and “meticulous orderings of space” (1990, 145).

However, the militarized state went beyond the disciplining of single human bodies to biopolitical regulation, that is, taking charge of the life and sexuality of the Island population as a whole during the war. Put another way, the military made a particular effort to promote the survival of the Island population—and the US nation in its entirety—through the sexuality of its Hawaiian hosts. Focusing on the luau, military cameras produced a sexualized rapport between the military and Hawaiian women that encouraged respectful coexistence.

Laura Wexler has advanced a theory of colonial photography called “the innocent eye”—a gendered way of seeing that developed from middle-class domestic photography in the antebellum US South, and during the Philippine-American War (2000, 6). This “natural” and sentimental vision erased the violence of colonial encounters in the very act of portraying its subjects. These photographs averted their gaze from race and class conflict, war, and colonization, rendering “a peace that keeps the peace” (Wexler 2000, 33). I argue that, like the sentimental camera during earlier imperial moments, the military camera in Hawai‘i aided in the production of peace and hospitality during the Pacific war.

The military visualization of the hula did not only discipline subjects through objectification, but also restabilized the fragile fantasy of peaceful coexistence between the Hawaiian colony and the United States under martial law and occupation. While the US military visually documented Islanders and made them visible as colonial subjects during wartime, it did not subject them to a categorizing or classificatory gaze. In other words, the purpose of these films was not ethnological, that is, to categorize Natives or create a taxonomy of types. They only invoked a generic, though gendered, Native. The films participated in the regulation and integration of colonial subjects—that is, a population subject to the exercise of biopower—more than their containment or segregation. The military camera was not merely a tool of propaganda, but also a regulatory tool of peace that sought to integrate rather than separate populations. It framed Hawai‘i as a site of mili-touristic pleasure, while editing out war, the militarization of the territory, and the frequent violence that erupted between soldiers and locals. The military camera, as wielded by male photographers, poised hula and colonized bodies in order to render, in the words

of art historian Bernard Smith, “a pacific Pacific” (1992, 210). Cameras encouraged pacification by visualizing encounters of aloha (love), rather than explicit coercion.

IMPERIAL HOSPITALITY

Military films of luau and hula translate an uneven relationship between Natives and outsiders into one that appears mutually edifying and consensual—an imagined relationship that I call imperial hospitality. Imperial hospitality is a gendered and racialized imaginary in which Island men, Island women, and male soldiers perform assigned roles as hosts and guests. This hospitality positioned Native Hawaiian women as hosts and haole US soldiers as guests, all the while disguising the material, economic, and political conditions under which colonized Islanders labored. The luau, a communal undertaking for Islanders, was appropriated by the militarized state as the marquee illustration of this imperial hospitality.

Kathy E Turnbull and Phyllis Ferguson have usefully observed how waves of settlers and sojourners, from missionaries to soldiers, gendered Hawai‘i’s land and its people as excessively female (1999, 6, 91). In a related vein, Haunani-Kay Trask has likened Hawai‘i under the yoke of state-sponsored corporate tourism to a sexually exploited Native woman (1999, 143). However, in my elaboration of imperial hospitality, I am not speaking simply of the military state’s instrumentalization of female or feminized bodies. My interest lies beyond Hawai‘i as a feminized space subject to patriarchal colonization; I turn toward how the sexuality of the indigenous population as a whole—its entire productive and reproductive capacity—commands the attention of the colonial-military state. (Neo)colonial state power is exercised not just through the erection of state apparatuses and policies, but also in less apparent forms, such as the gendered production of state hospitality and discursive organization of Hawaiian sexuality. The regulation of Hawaiian sexuality was aimed at incorporating them into a project of national survival, while waging war against the Japanese who at that historical moment were considered a far more dangerous and racially othered enemy.

The idea of Hawai‘i as a site of hospitality was rooted in the already strong cultural imaginary produced during fifty years of hula’s circulation in the United States. Live hula circuits on the US continent in the early twentieth century established what I have called an “imagined intimacy”

between Hawai'i and the US continent, a powerful fantasy that enabled Americans to possess their Island colony physically and figuratively (Imada 2004, 134–135). This fantasy was anchored by an imagined relationship between American spectators and captivating Islander women. As hula dancers circulated in nightclubs and theaters, Hawai'i was presented as a welcoming land with women serving white tourists. World War II further activated this fantasy of a sexualized colonial encounter in the Islands.

Yet this “imagined intimacy” between colony and colonizer was unstable; it was difficult to sustain when soldiers besieged O'ahu by the hundreds of thousands. In situ, Islanders were not simply two-dimensional magazine pinups, and their corporeality became a problem for military personnel. Military films and photographs of hula restabilized the subordinate relationship between colony and guest to an extent that live hula shows could not do on their own. As stable media, photographs and film can edit out the unruliness of embodied interactions; they offer the semblance of the real but are not corporeal. Film is also an easily reproducible medium; the wartime photographs and films were developed in military laboratories on island and published locally, but some were also widely distributed by photo bureaus to newspapers on the US continent. As they were reprinted or shown far away from Hawai'i, they enabled a wider public to experience the hospitality of the Islands.

Above all, the military camera's interest lay in visualizing an idealized, sexualized metaphor of aloha, or love, between Natives and outsiders. The military films animated a social contract on which the military relied: of “hosts” and “guests” who occupied distinct positions but nevertheless enjoyed each other's company. The luau, after all, was a staged encounter between Islanders and military, with Natives providing all the labor, and the military partaking of food, spectacle, and leisure. The military were elevated to guests of honor, and Natives served their guests in exchange for protection and security. The film encouraged local people to extend hospitality to the white soldiers—to see them as patrons rather than interlopers who might molest their daughters on the street or overrun their beaches. *Luau* portrays a harmonious yet hierarchical relationship, with the Natives in the position of cheerful and cooperative supplicants, and the haoles as gentlemen callers.

Not just any soldier or any Islander could enact these roles; a particular kind of host and guest was needed to fulfill the imaginary of hospitality. Luaus required the essential pairing of whites and Natives, specifi-

cally to cordon off two racial menaces: blacks and Japanese. Blackness and Japanese-ness were by no means racial equivalences, but their respective absences signal the discursive organizing the military state attempted through the luau productions. Military luaus appear to have hosted only white men and women, for there are no African American soldiers shown in the films or photographs. Black soldiers served in segregated units and therefore were entertained separately from whites. Perhaps some of the 30,000 African American servicemen and war workers in the Islands did experience luaus, but military productions did not show them or other nonwhites being served by Hawaiians. Such depictions would have destabilized the structure of racialized subordination that placed whiteness above all others, a system on which the US military depended in Hawai'i and the nation at large. In these visual texts, blackness is invisible and whiteness is exalted: whiteness anchors the imaginary of eroticized cooperation with Natives.

African Americans, though denigrated as second-class citizens, were still valuable to the war effort, as were Native Hawaiians who, as the original inhabitants of the Islands, could assert cultural authority over immigrants and settlers. As the United States mounted a war against Japan, the loyalty of the indigenous population could help to secure the broader allegiance of the occupied Islands and inoculate Hawai'i against "alien" Japanese. The hosts of military luaus were invariably Hawaiian, for picturing Hawaiians as generous performers constrained other Islanders, primarily the Japanese, whose mere presence was a stated danger to national security. In 1940, Japanese comprised nearly 40 percent of Hawai'i's population, the largest single racial group (Schmitt 1968). Their high numbers and purported resistance to assimilation inflamed the territorial and federal government's fear of "alien domination" from within (quoted in Okihiro 1991, 97). The production of Hawaiian hospitality distracted from the military state's coordinated attempts to destroy the Japanese American community in Hawai'i through systematic harassment and internment, analyzed extensively by Gary Okihiro (1991). The continued existence of the nation depended on the biopolitical integration of loyal Hawaiians and the extermination of—or at least the exertion of disciplinary control over—a Japanese "menace" within and beyond the nation's borders. Thus, as Japanese became the primary targets of governmental disciplining and surveillance programs, they were kept entirely outside the ostensibly peaceful military camera frames.

COMPROMISING POSITIONS

Luau also accomplishes an astonishing sleight of hand by disguising military authority as Island hospitality. The film suggests that Hawaiians are throwing a luau in honor of white military officers, as the Hawaiian women greet, kiss, and offer them leis. The Hawaiian “princess” even proffers a papaya to the luau’s highest guest of honor, Lt General Robert C Richardson Jr, and his wife. Army Air Force Central Film Library records held by the National Archives, however, contradict the implied host/guest relationship with this description: “7th Air Force officers host Hawaiian pageant and party at the officers’ club for combat on rest and relaxation tour.” At the time of the production, Lt General Richardson was the territory’s highest-ranking Army officer as well as military governor, with power over all civil and military affairs.¹⁶ In practical terms, Richardson was sovereign of the Islands during the May 1944 luau.

Thus, contrary to their filmic roles as honored guests, Army officers were the producers of the event: they had planned the luau and commissioned dozens of Hawaiians to perform as hosts. The Hawaiian “king” and “queen” of the pageant who welcome the soldiers were but hired hands for the real royalty of the Islands: officers like Richardson who implemented the military occupation. The film inverts the actual economic and social relations of the event, and transforms militarized colonization into hospitality.

Furthermore, the film produces a gendered regulation of Native bodies. *Luau*’s military cameras linger longest not on women dancing hula solo, but on white men and Native women together, and their playful interactions (figures 2 and 3). The film in fact displays indifference to the women’s hula performances, which are perfunctorily shot and edited, cut off between verses and gestures; some performances are limited to wide-angle shots where the women’s movements can hardly be seen. *Luau* is much more interested in showing men learning to dance hula from the women on stage.

Appearing in the same frame, the dancers and soldiers enjoy exchanges that appear mutual and peaceful. The camera tightly focuses on the bodies of women and men standing facing each other; the women hold the men’s waists to help them perform the ‘ami (hip rotation) (figure 4). Like souvenir photographs of servicemen with hula girls, *Luau* implies intimacy, however brief, between Island women and soldiers, and, by exten-



FIGURES 2–5. Stills from the 1944 US Army Air Force film *Luau*. In photos 2–4, US officers returned from “Down Under” pair off and learn the hula from Hawaiian women. In figure 5, the camera focuses on the backs of Hawaiian men preparing the imu.

sion, intimacy between the colony and the mili-touristic state. On stage, the hula girls do their duty by distracting the men from battlefield and death; but in addition the film diverts its viewers from the militarization of Native land and people by focusing on the pleasures of leisure. The intimate frames depict exchanges between Islanders and white arrivals as altruistic and peace loving, and help to disguise the violence of colonial contact and war.

US military photographs of Pacific Islanders in other parts of the Pacific Theater, particularly in Island Melanesia, depict Natives as submissive. Lamont Lindstrom observed that war photographs position Pacific Islanders in “a number of key poses,” including those of exotic savage, servant, victim, pupil, and loyal ally. Although drawing on a familiar visual vocabulary that represented Pacific Islanders as inferior savages, the “loyal ally” pose emerged as the most frequent supporting role for Micronesians and Melanesians whose islands were occupied by Allied forces. This image

smoothed over the colonial hierarchy by suggesting an “implicit equality” (2001, 116). Islanders from New Guinea, Guadalcanal, and Kiribati, for example, were portrayed not merely as servants or performers, but as fellow workers fighting the same enemy as scouts and laborers. Despite the parity with Micronesian allies suggested by wartime visual media, US military ambitions ultimately justified quasi-colonization and nuclear testing in the region. Having wrested Micronesia from Japan in battle, the United States seized control of much of Micronesia after the war, administering it as a United Nations strategic trust territory.

Military photography as manifested in Hawai‘i, however, never aimed to ameliorate racial and colonial subordination, but rather amplified and normalized these conditions through the trope of hospitality. Unlike in New Guinea or Solomon Islands, where close working relationships with indigenous men were emphasized, military men in Hawai‘i sought intimate relationships with indigenous women. It is the women whom *Luau* spectacularizes through close-ups of their faces, or their kneeling poses for photographers. The camera focuses on female dancers only, editing out the few men who dance hula at the luau. In the film *Luau*, Hawaiian men are reduced to anonymous manual laborers and are contained visually—their shirtless backs are turned to the cameras and their faces are hardly visible (see figure 5). The Army Signal Corps also took still photographs of luaus thrown for Army personnel in the 1940s.¹⁷ This series of luau photographs reveal that even when Hawaiian men were soldiers, they were performing culture for American soldiers (figure 6). On the unruly streets of Honolulu, Hawaiian men could pose a challenge to US servicemen (Allen 1950, 254). But they could readily be translated into compliant subjects in the context of cinematic performances. These depictions suggest that men and women each had important, though distinct, functions to perform in the mili-touristic economy—men as “backstage” performers, and women as onstage, eroticized entertainers.

Like Hawaiian entertainment, prostitution was another essential wartime service requiring gendered labor in Hawai‘i. The military institutionalized brothels in vice districts on the island of O‘ahu in order to confine the spread of venereal disease and sexual dissolution to a professional workforce of prostitutes (Bailey and Farber 1994, 99). As indicated by their wartime classification, hula dancers and prostitutes both provided “entertainment” necessary for the morale of US fighting men; the Honolulu police department even officially registered prostitutes as “entertainers” (Bailey and Farber 1994, 98).



FIGURE 6. US Army Signal Corps photograph of a luau at Fort DeRussy, O'ahu, 23 August 1942. The original caption reads, in part: "The pau [sic; pua'a] (pig) is now ready to be taken from the imu (underground stove) by native soldiers." Photo 1137, Hawai'i War Records Depository.

Yet despite their apparent similarities and utility, the luau and the brothel represent opposite ends of the spectrum of militarized sexuality. The former was produced in full public view and sanctioned, while the latter was an open secret and ugly necessity. The luau promoted intimacy between Hawaiians and white soldiers without actual sexual contact, encouraging them to offer aloha freely to one another. In contrast, prostitution did not and could not perform the function of diffusing tensions. Sex in a military-regulated brothel did not generate a transcendent experience between white men and eroticized racial others; in fact, prostitutes were not local women, but mostly haole women who came from the US continent as sex workers. A brief encounter between a soldier and a woman in a brothel was hardly Hawaiian hospitality; it was merely a perfunctory economic and sexual exchange. The luau, however, promised much more.

MILITARY PATRONAGE

The first appearance of the misnamed “luau” is tied to the Euro-American militarization of Hawai‘i. A British naval captain visiting the islands in 1827 described a “leuhow” party after being hosted at a royal feast by Kamehameha III (McClellan 1940, 10). As waves of US military officers in the 1830s and 1840s were treated to feasts and entertainment by ali‘i (chiefs), “luaus” became associated with receptions for outsiders (McClellan 1940, 10). Alternately, the authoritative Hawaiian-language dictionary suggests that the word “luau” appeared at least as early as 1856 in the pages of the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, a Honolulu English-language newspaper representing the interests of Euro-American businessmen (Pukui and Elbert 1986, 214).

During World War II, however, military authorities were not content to sit back as guests; they seized control of the luau as the new “chiefs.” They regulated the slaughtering of sows and young pigs, citing feed and meat shortages. The military banned commercial luaus outright, and private luaus were permissible only for weddings, welcome-home parties for members of the family who had been in the armed services overseas, or “some other well established racial custom” (HSB 1945a). Civilians were required to apply for luau permits, and even toward the end of the war, still had to abide by strict quotas limiting the number of luau pigs.

The Hawai‘i Chamber of Commerce’s tourist bureau stopped its operations for the duration of the war (Armitage 1942, 73). But the US Army and the quasi-independent United Service Organization inherited infrastructure and personnel directly from the tourist bureau, and eventually the Army created its own visitors’ bureau to service businessmen and government officials involved in the war (Allen 1950, 221). Thus, while the militarized luau had already been catering to visiting soldiers and sailors in the 1920s and ’30s, military officials assumed the duties of a professional class of brokers that marketed and profited from Hawaiian culture by facilitating the production and dissemination of the luau during World War II. The military, working in concert with the USO, had more resources at its disposal than the tourist bureau, including government financing, new technologies and equipment, trained cameramen, as well as a wider national distribution network and media outlets drafted for the war effort.

Moreover, I would argue that whether civilian or military, a tourist board takes on the primary function of defining cultural authenticity: that is, determining what is authentic and inauthentic culture, and directing resources to that deemed accurate and suitable. In its exercise of state power, the Army appropriated this important brokering function, defining Native authenticity, including the selection of what constituted authentic Hawaiian feasting. Arguing that monetary gift-giving practices at luaus generated unsavory profits, officials prohibited the solicitation of money. The military director of food production maintained that this practice was “quite contrary to the etiquette [sic] which was considered good form by the ancient Hawaiians” (HSB 1945b). This position implied that an exchange of money tainted the ethos of aloha as generous gift giving with no expectation of return. The US military asserted itself as responsible arbiters of the luau, above Hawaiians. The maximum penalty for violating the luau defense act order was a \$5,000 fine and one year in jail. Without military approval and patronage, Hawaiians would not have been able to hold luaus.

By asserting a separation between those who served and those who feasted, the military luau also disrupted the social and spiritual relations of the Hawaiian feast. In pre-Christian Hawai‘i, a feast enabled humans and gods to commune together. Gods were invoked at the feast through highly symbolic food: The pua‘a (pig), preferably a black pig, was a traditional sacrificial offering; the ti (*Cordyline fruticosa*) leaves in which meat and luau leaves were steamed were not merely decorative or functional, but entreated gods for protection (Pukui, Haertig, and Lee 2001, 2–3).

Most significant for Hawaiians is the kalo (taro, *Colocasia esculenta*), the tuber from which poi is made. According to Hawaiian cosmogonic genealogy, the gods Wākea and Ho‘ohōkūkalani were progenitors of the kalo as well as the ali‘i (chiefs) and all men. Their first child was stillborn but, when placed in the earth, grew into the first kalo, named Hāloa. Second-born was a boy, also named Hāloa in honor of his brother, the kalo plant. He was nourished by the kalo, and in turn, entrusted with the care of his elder sibling. Thus, kalo is much more than food, but a sacred ancestor as well as a living metaphor for family (Ritte and Freese 2006; Handy and Pukui 1998, 3–4). When Hawaiians care for kalo, they are also caring for their kūpuna (elders).¹⁸

Furthermore, the strict demarcation between “host” (those that serve) and “guest” (those who eat) does not apply to a communal feast. In a

Hawaiian community, the preparation of an ‘aha‘āina, whether a feast after mourning or a birth, requires the sharing of labor and social values. As Hawaiian cultural authority Mary Kawena Pukui described, the social, spiritual, and economic relations of a community are cemented not through the final act of eating, but the entire process of preparing a feast: the careful cultivation of land and sea in the form of kalo patches and fishing ponds, the rearing of pigs, and the kōkua (spirit of cooperation) and laulima (the work of many hands) that are essential in the labor of the lū‘au (Pukui, Haertig, and Lee 2001, 3).

During the war Hawaiians struggled to maintain this meaning and value of the luau apart from scripted military hospitality. As Raymond Williams has reminded us, hegemony must be constantly renewed; both dominant and subaltern groups struggle to have their agendas recognized at the level of common sense and acceptance (1977, 112). Working within the strict wartime permit system, Hawaiians continued to hold their own luaus apart from the mili-touristic gaze. After the lifting of martial law, they returned to throwing their own unregulated luaus for themselves, as described in a contemporary account by a young Hawaiian student at the University of Hawai‘i (Alana 1947).¹⁹

NEW THEATERS

After the war, the Army relinquished its official hold on Island tourism, and a corporatized state agency, the Hawai‘i Visitors Bureau, assumed the responsibility for marketing the Islands and its culture. Now called the Hawai‘i Visitors and Convention Bureau, this state apparatus courted the producers of *Top Chef* and provides “Aloha” press kits to visiting journalists. The functions of the military and the Island tourist bureau—to service the military needs of the nation and publicize the Islands as staunchly American but uniquely Polynesian—continued to mesh seamlessly. The war had provided great publicity for the territory, as borne out by a dramatic increase in US soldiers and tourists after the war. Millions of soldiers and defense workers had been entertained in wartime Hawai‘i, and when they went back to their homes, they took their memories of the luau and the hula with them.²⁰ The accelerated postwar expansion of the tourist infrastructure and Island economy also owes its thanks to US military spending.

The imperial hospitality demanded of Islanders during the war prepared

them for tourist growth and official national incorporation in the form of statehood in 1959. The roles they played in *Luau: A Native Feast* were reprised at least over the next two decades in subsequent mili-touristic film productions, Hollywood cinema, and commercial luau enterprises.²¹ Wartime hula installed a discourse of Hawaiian cultural participation in everyday militarized life. To apply Raymond Williams's elaboration of Antonio Gramsci's hegemony, the idea that Hawaiians were important and necessary for the military cause came to be inserted into a "whole body of practices and expectations" (1977, 110).

These expectations of military support are visible in the military film archives of hula during the cold war and Vietnam War, which star hula dancers who welcome returning soldiers. When the first French casualties from Indochina were brought back to Paris by US naval aircraft in 1954, they stopped for some R & R at Hickam Air Force Base, the site of Lt General Richardson's luau a decade earlier. US Air Force photographers recorded the men's encounters with Hawaiian women. In the photographs, the most severely wounded lie on gurneys while young Hawaiian girls drape leis over their heads and succor them with hula (NARA 1954). Called "Operation Wounded Warrior," the medical mission as well as the eponymous film suggested that Hawaiian women performed as both state hostesses and healers.

The filmic scripts of Hawaiian hospitality—whether for prisoners of war from the Korean War in 1953, or US soldiers from Vietnam landing at Hickam Air Force Base in 1969—are nearly identical: in every case, Hawaiian women dance while haole soldiers partake of their performances as guests. Over a stretch of nearly twenty years, what matters most is that Hawai'i provides an invaluable service to the nation—the generous reception for its warriors—through the sexuality of Island women. These films distinguish Hawai'i as a site of hospitality and healing, a role that the Islands, through Hawaiian women in particular, continue to fulfill as the Pacific's R & R capital.

The genealogy of the militarized luau leads us to a present-day beach-front site in Waikīkī, one protected by armed military checkpoint. Before the United States colonized and annexed Hawai'i in the late nineteenth century, ruling ali'i (chiefs) favored Waikīkī ("the spouting waters") for its salutary properties. They convalesced at their Waikīkī estates and also entertained foreign dignitaries with lavish luau receptions (Kanahele 1996, 145–146, 148–149). Recuperating US soldiers usurped the curative pow-

ers of Waikīkī during World War II at Fort DeRussy, which housed the largest recreation center of the Mid-Pacific Command. Its ballroom seated 1,200 men, and its grounds could accommodate 10,000 soldiers and sailors (Allen 1950, 259). Ignoring the pleas of civilian authorities, the Army refused to return Fort DeRussy to the city of Honolulu after the war.

When the first US troops arrived from Vietnam in 1966 for R & R, they reunited and vacationed with their families at Fort DeRussy, an event also filmed by the US Army (NARA 1966). Fort DeRussy remains the most developed and popular military recreation center in the Pacific and, as Ferguson and Turnbull have explicated, is a site where the military willingly appropriates and domesticates indigenous land and symbols (1999, 98). In response to the Vietnam War, the Army built Hale Koa (House of the Warrior) in the 1970s, a high-rise resort hotel and highly affordable R & R destination for military personnel. Paying rates far below market, over one million retired or enlisted members of the armed forces and their families retreat to the Waikīkī property every year.

Today, the nation's primary theater of war may have shifted decidedly from Asia and the Pacific to the Middle East, but whether supporting "Operation Wounded Warrior" or "Operation Iraqi Freedom," Hawai'i remains an invaluable source of leisure for US armed forces. Hale Koa currently offers an "Operation Iraqi Freedom R & R Special" to all US forces currently serving in Iraq and Afghanistan. Personnel eligible for leave can reserve an "R & R Waikiki vacation" at a 20 percent discount that includes access to the Hale Koa luau. Twice a week for a fee of \$38, Island women service military guests with aloha, continuing the well-worn tradition of imperial hospitality on tarmacs, ship decks, and military bases.²² This militarized luau may be no more a spectacle than other commercial iterations tourists enjoy across the Islands. But over the past sixty years it and many others have exerted deep ideological pressure by reprising an almost inescapable script of hospitality and leisure. Assigning expectations and roles of hosts and guests, the luau in embodied, mediated, and discursive forms makes Islander bodies available for the labor of leisure and translates Hawai'i into a safe sanctuary for the military and the nation.

* * *

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Notes

1 Listed prices are for adults and current for 2007.

2 Editor's note: Poi is taro that has been cooked, mashed, mixed with water, and fermented; lomi-lomi salmon is raw, salted, diced salmon mixed with fresh chopped tomatoes and onions; poke (pronounced "poh-kay") consists of various kinds of raw fish or seafood, often mixed with seaweeds; laulau are "packages of ti leaves or banana leaves containing pork, beef, salted fish, or taro tops, baked in the ground oven, steamed or broiled" (Pukui and Elbert 1986, 196).

3 I use the Hawaiian "lū'au" to refer to the local celebratory feast as distinguished from the English-language idiom "luau" that signifies a practice intended for tourist consumption. (The plural form of the Hawaiian word "lū'au" is the same: "lū'au"; the plural of "luau," as an English word, is "luaus.") I rely on this rough demarcation between Island and tourist practices, although there is traffic between the two. I maintain there can be no "authentic" or "pure" lū'au, since its formation in Hawai'i was always already hybrid and developed in response to mili-touristic outsiders.

4 In 2005, Hawai'i's tourist industry accounted for approximately 23 percent of Hawai'i's \$55 billion gross state domestic product, or GSP (about \$12.6 billion), compared with approximately 13 percent in direct federal government spending (about \$7.12 billion) (DBEDT 2007, 21). Military spending comprises the largest segment of direct federal spending, or over 60 percent, at \$4.4 billion; it is at least 8 percent of the state's total GSP (DBEDT 2007, 11). However, the actual contribution of federal and Department of Defense spending to the state's economy is much higher than these figures indicate, as GSP calculations are limited to federal monies spent on employee wages and procurement contracts; they do not include other substantial contributions such as retirement, disability, and medical benefits, and state and local contracts. In 2004, these non-GSP contributions amounted to an extra \$5.3 billion (DBEDT 2007, 1-2).

5 Guam's situation is similar to Hawai'i's dependence on mili-tourism; Guam's largest employer is the US federal government and its single largest industry is tourism. Nearly 30 percent of Guam's land base is controlled by the US military (FHB 2006-2007, 8). However, over the coming decade, Guam will experience its largest US military increase since World War II, due to an agreement reached by the US and Japanese governments in 2006 to transfer 8,000 US marines and their dependents from Okinawa to Guam by 2014.

6 Jolly's 1997 essay draws on Bernard Smith's argument that the aestheticization of Polynesian women directed attention away from the violence of Captain James Cook's third voyage (Smith 1992).

7 As Noenoe K Silva has skillfully documented (2004), Hawaiian political organizations vigorously contested the illegal overthrow and annexation of the

Hawaiian Kingdom. Collecting testimony and petitions from the majority of the populace in support of their queen and political autonomy, they managed to defeat two annexation treaties in 1893 and 1897. However, a Joint Resolution of US Congress in 1898 annexed Hawai'i by simple majority, bypassing the requisite two-thirds Senate majority necessary for ratification of a treaty.

8 The USO became an umbrella organization for six other organizations—the YMCA, YWCA, National Catholic Community Service, the National Jewish Welfare Board, the Travelers Aid Association, and the Salvation Army. It operated independently from the US military, accepting contributions from private donors.

9 The motion pictures are held by US National Archives and Records Administration's Motion Picture, Sound, and Video Division in College Park, Maryland, and the still photographs by the Hawai'i War Records Depository at the University of Hawai'i, Mānoa, in Honolulu. The films are filed separately, either by subject matter (eg, "World War II, Hawaii, Recreation") or by the producing unit (eg, Army Air Force). No fewer than twenty-five military films were produced by the Army and Navy featuring hula or Hawaiian cultural performances during the 1940s, as well as about thirteen in the 1950s and fifteen in the 1960s.

10 See also letters to the editor published in the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* in December 1942.

11 Mākua Valley is on government and Crown lands of the former Hawaiian Kingdom. Hawaiians and their allies have rallied to reclaim access to the valley and halt the live training of grenades, mortars, and machine guns. In 2001, a Hawaiian community group, Mālama Mākua, and environmental activists managed to force a moratorium on Mākua military training through a legal settlement (Pennybacker 2006). However, in summer 2007, the Army abruptly refused to admit two Hawaiian cultural groups to sacred valley sites (Hoover 2007).

12 While these military orders were ostensibly directed at the entire population, Gary Okihiro has demonstrated that the Japanese, alien and citizen alike, were the primary targets of these controls (1991, 226–227). Military rule had been planned long before Pearl Harbor, at least since the early 1930s, for the purposes of containing and controlling the large Japanese population in the Islands (Okihiro 1991, 209).

13 Hawai'i was designated a military area by Executive Order 9066 in October 1942.

14 World War II may have been the most photographed war during the age of analog photography, but an argument can be made that the advent of digital photography and other technologies such as camera phones and webcams have broadened the visualization and broadcast of twenty-first century warfare, particularly by combatants.

15 Edward S Curtis's *The North American Indian*, issued between 1907 and 1930, did much cultural work by circulating romanticized images of the disap-

pearing Native; the published volumes consisted of more than two thousand photographs of eighty tribes.

16 General Richardson only relinquished this title on 30 June 1944, and Hawai'i was not reinstated to civilian authority until October 1944.

17 See photographs No. 1133, 1134, 1135, 1136, and 1137 taken in 1942 by US Army Signal Corps, Hawai'i War Records Depository. The US Department of Navy's Naval Photographic Center also filmed hula at Pearl Harbor naval base.

18 Hawaiians launched organized protests in 2006 against the patenting of hybridized kalo by University of Hawai'i, Mānoa. This activism against biopiracy, in the interest of protecting Hāloa, underscores the continued resonance of the spiritual relationship between Hawaiians and kalo. The university responded by withdrawing its patents in June 2006. See Ritte and Freese 2006.

19 How Native bodies have managed to break out of the script of the militourized luau remains beyond the scope of this article, but my ongoing research on hula and informal family photography takes up this question. Anne Keala Kelly's documentary work-in-progress, *Noho Hewa ma Hawai'i Nei: The Wrongful Occupation of Hawai'i* (nd), as well as her documentary short *Wishing You Were Here* (2006) and written commentary (2004) address ongoing efforts by Kānaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians) and nonindigenous Islanders to demilitarize the Islands. Working in concert with Native Hawaiian and environmentalist groups, the Demilitarize-Hawai'i/Aloha 'Āina is the Islands' most active organization protesting ongoing military expansion.

20 Total attendance for USO shows during the war reached 67 million (HUSO 1945). Although this figure likely includes multiple attendance by individuals, it nevertheless suggests that the Islands accommodated an overwhelming number of outsiders, many times the size of the prewar Island population.

21 Luaus figure prominently in some postwar films (whether set in the Islands or far from Hawai'i) such as *A Place in the Sun* (Stevens 1951), *Gidget* (Wendkos 1959), and *Blue Hawaii* (Taurog 1961).

22 Prices are current as of October 2007.

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Abstract

Circulating in the contemporary global cultural marketplace, the tourist luau is an iconic form of commodified hospitality and leisure, readily available in embodied and mediated forms. This article traces the emergence of the luau as a material practice and discursive formation during the “mili-touristic” economy of World War II Hawai'i in films shot by US military units. US combat photography units staged ethnographic performances of hula and luaus, transforming the luau from a privileged experience for a select few to a mass mediated event. These filmic

performances produced scripts of imperial hospitality: imagined and enacted scripts in which Islanders and soldiers play roles as host and guest, respectively. Military luaus rendered uneven colonial relationships as mutual and consensual encounters between white soldiers and Native women. Through the exercise of biopower, military cameras did not merely discipline Hawaiian populations, but also integrated colonial subjects and regulated Hawaiian sexuality. These gendered scripts continue to secure Hawai'i as a rest and relaxation capital for US military personnel.

KEYWORDS: militarization, photography, biopower, sexuality, hula, luau